

## SENATOR JAMES A. REED OPENS HIS CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION IN SPEECH AT MOBERLY

He Defends His Record and Outlines  
His Platform and Issues for  
the Coming Campaign

### PEOPLE ENTITLED TO KNOW THE TRUTH

"If a Spirit of Tolerance Prevails; If We Take  
Counsel of Wisdom, the Army of Democracy  
Will March to Certain Victory," He Says

Moberly, Mo.—Democratic success ought to insure a return to the old policies under which have been preserved the liberties of the people, the march towards centralization arrested, the control by special interests terminated and the Government once more made responsive to the demands of the country, asserted Senator James A. Reed, candidate for the Democratic nomination to succeed himself as United States Senator from Missouri, in his opening speech here, Saturday afternoon, May 6th.

The inauguration of Senator Reed's campaign was under the auspices of the "Reed for Senator Club of Randolph County," which has a membership of about 3,000. Two special trains from Kansas City and one from St. Louis brought hundreds of enthusiastic Reed supporters to the city.

The substance of his speech follows:

#### Fellow Citizens:

The Democratic Party is about to select its candidates for one of the most important elections ever held.

Democratic success ought to insure a return to the old policies under which have been preserved the liberties of the people.

The march towards centralization should be arrested; the control by special interests now impudently asserted terminated; and the Government be once more made responsive to the demands of the country.

I have, for nearly 12 years, represented, in part, the State of Missouri in the United States Senate. I have, to the best of my ability, upheld the fundamental principles of Democracy. It now becomes not only my right but my duty to submit my official acts to the public whose commission I hold. I hope that nothing I may say will be misunderstood. I come to close not to open wounds.

The Democracy may well take a leaf from the philosophy of its great antagonist. In 1912 the Republican Party was divided into two warring camps. It composed its differences, and overwhelmed us in defeat. Let us profit by the example!

If a spirit of tolerance prevails; if we take counsel of wisdom, the army of Democracy will march to certain and deserved victory.

The differences of opinion that have existed and yet exist within the Democratic party do not arise over old principles, but spring from questions growing out of the great world upheaval.

These new questions were thrust suddenly forward for decision—immediate action was often necessary. Under such circumstances men capable of thinking frequently arrive at opposite conclusions.

The majority of these questions have been definitely and finally determined. Why should we dispute over matters of the past?

The war is ended and it was ended right. The troops have been recalled. The army has been disbanded. The war legislation has been largely repealed. Treaties of peace have been signed. Everyone did his best to win the great struggle. What is to be gained by fanning into a flame expiring embers?

Since our foreign policies are fixed, so long as Mr. Harding is President, why need we quarrel among ourselves about that which we are presently powerless to change?

Other questions of great import are no longer at issue.

Women's Suffrage is here and it is here to stay. Advocates and opponents alike recognize the fixed fact and unitedly hope that it will bring all the blessings predicted and none of the evils feared.

Prohibition has been written into the Constitution. The Constitution can only be changed by the vote of three-fourths of the States. The Eighteenth Amendment is part of the Constitution. The Constitution being the supreme law of the land must be respected and obeyed. That course is in accordance with good citizenship and will receive the support of law-abiding people. It follows that no good citizen will demand that in order to enforce one provision of the Constitution the other provisions should be disregarded or violated. All are equally entitled to be respected.

The true doctrine was well stated by United States District Judge Sater in the case of U. S. vs. Rykowski, 207 Federal Reporter, 871. He declared:

"The eighteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution is as sacred as the fourth and fifth amendment, but no more so. They stand on an equality. There is no inconsistency between them. The Volstead Act, like any other law, should be enforced as long as it is on the statute book. Efforts for its enforcement should be along legal lines, lest the law be made odious and the ultimate result be the defeat of justice."

Within the compass of this address it will be impossible to completely

catalogue the conflicting policies which divide the Democratic from the Republican Party. Broadly stated, the parties are back on the old "battle ground." The contest of the immediate future will be largely over the questions about which the parties have been for years contending.

To that battle I summon the hosts of Missouri's Democracy. In that fight I shall do my part, whether I serve as a leader or in the ranks. Such is the spirit in which all should enter this campaign.

Without now pausing for details, I challenge attention to the fact that the National Administration has failed to redeem the pledges upon which it gained office.

It has laid down legislative program after program only to abandon them. It reduced taxes upon all the great trusts, profiteers and millionaires and gave no substantial relief to the people.

It is now endeavoring to force through Congress a tariff bill dictated by the great interests and which will enable them to exact extortionate prices from the body of the population.

It increased the taxes upon corporations making small profits in order to reduce the taxes upon excess profits gathered by corporate profiteers.

It proposes to subsidize ship companies that are largely in alliance with foreign ship companies.

In order to reduce the taxes upon millionaires and profiteers it sought to retain the tax upon transportation which falls upon the entire people and with particular weight upon farmers and shippers.

It denied the soldiers a bonus upon the claim of insufficient revenues, and, at the same time, reduced the revenues being paid by war profiteers.

It has refused adequate appropriation to control the flood waters of our great rivers or to promote navigation thereon.

Its history to this date is one of broken pledges, servitude to the great interests and abandonment of the common people.

The conditions in Missouri are well known. The Hyde administration has been tried and condemned at the bar of public opinion. I shall have occasion to discuss it hereafter.

In view of the situation factional differences ought to be forgotten within the Democratic Party, and we should invite to our assistance all citizens interested in the welfare of the State.

The people of Missouri are entitled to know what my public acts have been, and I now proceed to a candid review of what I have done.

It will be necessary to discuss these questions plainly, and to answer various charges which have been persistently made.

Permit me first to remove a little of the underbrush. Many false and sometimes malicious statements have been circulated for years. Hitherto I have maintained silence. The time has now come when I can and ought to speak. I shall refer to a few of the charges, but in as kindly a manner as the circumstances permit.

It is charged that because of disputes over patronage I opposed President Wilson in everything he desired.

A Senator who would allow either animosity or friendship to control his official acts would be unfit to hold that high office. The charge is not only untrue, but as the Congressional Record will show, is ridiculous.

The absurdity of that part of the charge which asserts that I opposed the President in everything he desired is illustrated by the fact that during his incumbency the President sent to the Senate more than 40,000 appointments for confirmation and that I voted for all, save some six or seven appointments.

The Record also proves that upon questions covered by the Democratic platform upon which we were both elected, there were no differences between the President and myself.

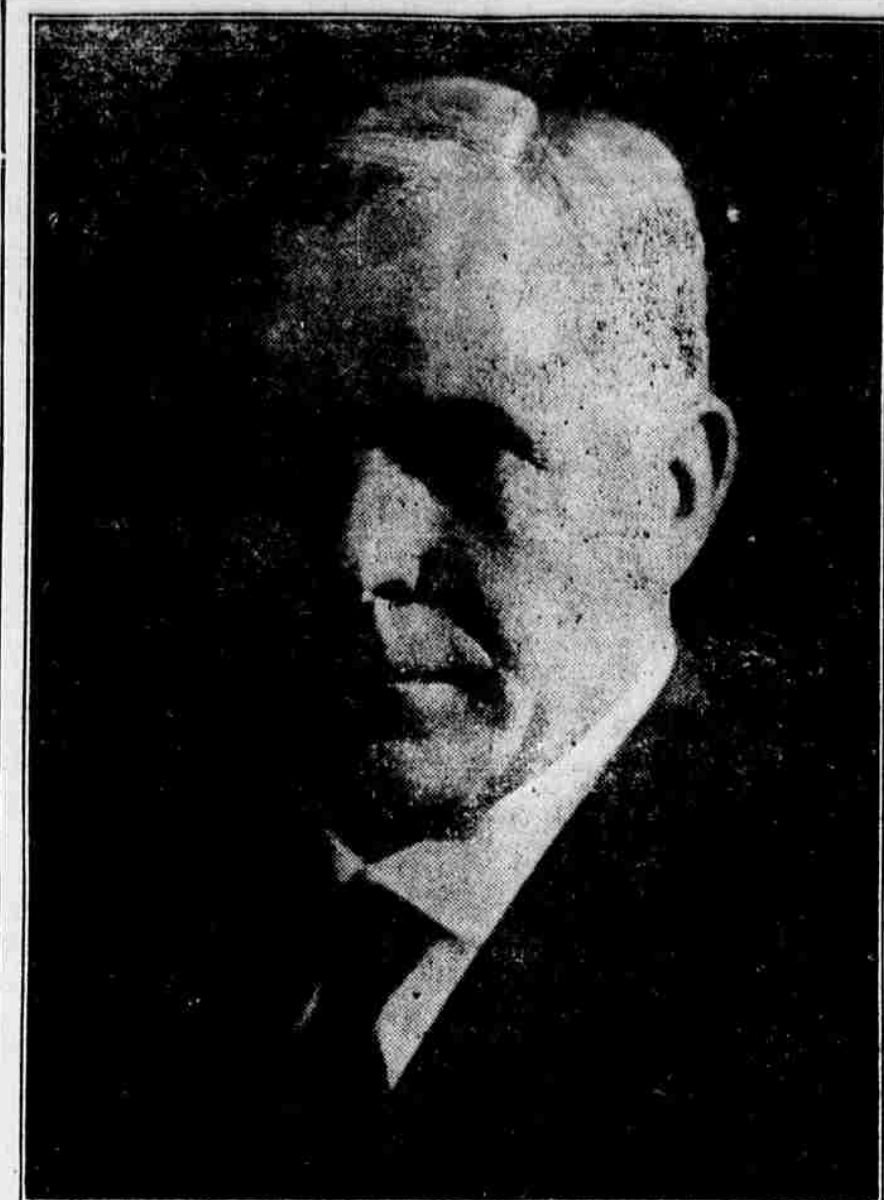
Upon questions not covered by that platform I supported the President when I thought him right. Frequently I appeared (within the limits of my poor abilities) as his champion when the questions were important and even crucial to his administration. I shall later refer to specific instances.

#### JONES AND THE HARVESTER TRUST.

A difference did arise between the President on the one hand and Senator Stone and myself upon the other and regarding three appointive offices in the Western District of Missouri. It arose in this wise:

In 1913 the Federal Reserve Bank Bill was before the Senate. I labored for weeks to concentrate the complete control of the system in a Federal Reserve Board to be appointed by the President. I believed the money and credits of the country should not be controlled by the big banks of New York.

With the bill thus amended, the President appointed Thomas D. Jones as a member of the board. Mr. Jones was a director of the Harvester Trust. That combination was created by Pier-



SENATOR JAMES A. REED.

pont Morgan. It embraced practically all of the manufacturers of farm machinery which had theretofore been in competition. The trust had for years been robbing the farmers. The trust had been condemned by Democratic conventions. Prosecuted at the request of the Missouri Democratic General Assembly. It had been convicted by the Supreme Court of Missouri. It was at the time of Jones' appointment under grave charges by the Federal Government, Jones, himself, being named as one of the defendants.

The Harvester Trust was a subsidiary of the Morgan interests. I did not believe that the Morgan bank ought to have a representative upon the Federal Reserve Bank Board. I made a speech opposing Mr. Jones. The President withdrew the appointment.

After this the President declined to accept the recommendations of Senator Stone and myself. But all these differences, and they were really inconsequential, were amicably adjusted long before the campaign of 1916. If any feeling existed after that regarding these appointments it certainly did not find lodgment in my heart.

It is charged that in the Senate I opposed Democratic principles and policies.

Happily, all my acts and votes in the Senate are recorded in the Congressional Record.

No living man can point to a speech or vote of mine that is not in absolute accord with the established, fundamental doctrines of Democracy.

As to the League of Nations, it deals with our foreign relations and those relations have never been regarded as the subject of partisan politics. The question of entering into the league was declared to be non-political by President Wilson and ex-President Taft, when they spoke from the platform of the Metropolitan Opera House on the eve of the President's second departure for Europe. The President continuously and repeatedly reiterated the statement, continuing to do so up to the time the league was disposed of in the Senate.

Upon this non-political question my views are so well understood that discussion thereof is unnecessary.

I voted against the league. I believed it imperiled the Republic and so believing, I could not support it. My views have not changed.

I will never knowingly cast a vote which will directly or indirectly obliterate the United States to draft our boys into the military service and to send them to fight and die in the quarrels of foreign countries.

#### The Duty of a Senator.

My conception of the duty of a Senator is that he should carefully investigate all questions coming before Congress; counsel with his associates; listen with patience to the view of interested citizens, and in the end act in accordance with his best judgment and conscience. He who does less is not an honest legislator.

Nothing is easier than to follow the drift of popular opinion; to float with the stream of events; to join in the cry of the hour. The mediocre, nay the very fool may do that. The demagogue and coward invariably pursue that course. They serve not the state but themselves. Upon the altar of selfishness they sacrifice honor and country.

Naturally, all men prefer to accord with their political associates.

There is usually slight difficulty if the proposition is controlled by established party doctrines. The principle being already accepted, its application to a particular case is easy. When new questions arise not embraced within the party creed, one must be guided by the landmarks of history and the light of reason. But in all cases the responsible representative should have regard alone for the public weal.

The doctrine that it is the duty of a member of Congress to obey the orders or suggestions of the Executive is not only revolutionary but appalling. It strikes at the heart of our republican institutions. It deprives the people of the several congressional districts and the respective states of representation in the legislative branch of the Government, because when the legislative will becomes subservient to the Executive, all of the powers of government are centered in one man. That road leads from the plains of

freedom to the scaffolds of despotism. It is the course traveled by every civilization which began in liberty and ended in chains.

One-man government is despotism. This is not a one-man government. It is a government by 100,000,000 free men whose representatives can only lawfully act within the express limits of their powers as fixed by the Constitution. Rome had a one-man government—it ended in world ruin. France had such a government—it ended at the guillotine. Russia had such a government—it ended in the bloody collar of Siberia. England had such a government—it ended at the block. Prussia had such a government—it is despotism—an exile—its people bear the burden of its sins.

Our fathers knew history. They had suffered from tyranny. They did not intend to repeat the mistakes of other nations. Accordingly, they divided the Government into three independent branches, each confined to its particular duties, and each operating as a check upon the others. The Legislature was authorized to enact; the Judiciary to construe, and the Executive to enforce the law.

#### OUR GOVERNMENT WAS WISELY CONCEIVED.

To the President, who was elected at large, was granted only certain executive powers. He was denied the right to dictate a single law or to issue a single decree. By the Constitution he is permitted to touch legislation at but two points. He may recommend laws, but Congress is at full liberty to disregard his suggestions. He may veto bills, but the Congress has power to overturn his vetoes.

He is made Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, but the Constitution gives him neither Army nor Navy to command. He must go to Congress for both. And Congress may refuse both or either.

The House of Representatives has the exclusive right to originate revenue measures. That body, if it sees fit, can completely paralyze the Executive branch.

And finally, the Fathers gave to Congress the right to impeach the President and the Justices of the Courts.

Whence then comes the doctrine that the President may dictate to Congress what laws shall be passed, and that the members of Congress must tamely bow to the Executive will? Establish that doctrine and Congress will no longer be a great and independent body speaking for the people. It will have degenerated into a contemptible tool to register, not the will of the people, but the will of the President.

A Congress guilty of such an act betrays the people, destroys the Constitution and assassinates American liberty.

The doctrine is an abomination intolerable in a free country. Adopt it and the President will have more power than any king who ever wore a crown, for, by his own will, he can govern the greatest nation on earth. There may be those who are willing to take a place in the Senate upon condition that after they have sworn to uphold the Constitution and to faithfully demean themselves in office, they shall at once violate their oath by permitting the President of the United States to dictate their votes; but, such a man is willing to betray his country to obtain an office.

If we are to adopt the new policy advocated by some people who elect a Congress? Why pay the salaries of 435 Representatives and 96 Senators? Why have investigations and debates? Why not abolish Congress? Why not let the President promulgate his decrees and call them laws?

The man who is incapable of thinking for himself is too great a fool to send to Congress.

The man who is too indolent to think for himself is too lazy to send to Congress.

The man who fears to think for himself is too cowardly to send to Congress.

The man who would take the office of Congressman upon condition that he should vote according to the dictation of some other man is too contemptible to send to Congress.

The structure of our Government was laid by the wisest men who ever assembled to create a nation. In that

Government each state (except as to certain specified powers) is a complete sovereignty entitled to be represented in the Senate by two men.

Has it come to this that the proud State of Missouri, embracing territory larger than the Island of England, one-third as large as the German Empire, possessing a population of 3,500,000 of the most intelligent men and women on earth, desires that its representatives shall exercise neither independence of thought nor action. Shall they each morning, turn their faces towards the White House and humbly exclaim: "Give us this day our daily thoughts?"

For nearly 12 years I have represented this great State. I have refused to delegate to another the trust reposed in me. I will surrender that trust only to the people whose commission I hold.

If Missouri wants a rubber stamp in the United States Senate, it undoubtedly can find one without searching far or long.

If I am right in the position I have taken, then the test to be applied to my public acts is not whether I agreed or disagreed with the President, but whether my votes and acts were in accordance with sound public policy. By that test I am willing to be measured.

I do not pretend that my judgment has been infallible—I do claim to have been honest in my convictions. Infallibility is not an attribute of this earth. I may be mistaken when I do not agree with you—you may be mistaken when you do not agree with me.

Nothing is so difficult as legislation. Its effects lie in the future and are generally incapable of exact calculation. Patience and prudence are infinitely to be preferred to boldness and experimentation. The greater one's experience, the more one distrusts legislative cure-alls.

The prudent man knows that our Government was wisely conceived.

Change is sometimes necessary, but it should not be lightly undertaken lest more injury than good may follow. During the past six years nearly everybody has labored under intense excitement. A multitude of well-intentioned but impractical schemes have been brought forward. Nearly every plan proposed has been imperfect and many were full of danger.

Under such circumstances it became the duty of every man charged with responsibility to proceed with the greatest care, to examine all propositions, to expose and cure their errors, and if incapable of cure, to oppose them. The representative of the people was the "watchman upon the tower." It was his business to guard the interests of the country even though it brought upon him the contumely of enemies and the torturing criticism of friends. He was obliged in honor to forget himself and his own fortunes. This is never easy. It is sometimes an agonizing experience.

In the light of what I have said, let me refer to a few of the principal events of the last 12 years.

#### GREAT STANDING ARMY AND COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING.

I now proceed to discuss various important matters in the order of their occurrence.

Out of order and because I desire to attract the attention of those who have been dissatisfied with the President was a species of treason. I direct attention to three demands of the Administration:

The demand for a great standing army and navy.

The demand for universal military service for all boys 18 years of age.

The demand for the acceptance of a mandate in Armenia which would require the maintenance in Asia of a great American army.

Months after the Armistice had been signed and our expeditionary force was being dissolved, the Administration, through the Secretary of War, the Navy and Chief of Staff, demanded:

(1) A regular standing army of 500,000 men.

(2) Sailors and marines, 250,000.

This vast military establishment was estimated to cost \$1,246,200,000 per year.

Universal compulsory military training for all boys 18 years of age, was also demanded.

This would have kept in constant training at least 250,000 boys.

The entire scheme contemplated keeping constantly under arms more than one million men.

The plan aforesaid also contemplated the creation of a great National Guard, the establishment of training camps, and a vast reserve army.

The entire scheme could not have been carried out for less than two thousand million dollars annually.

At the same time active steps were being taken to bring about the establishment of an American mandate over Armenia.

The President's personal representative, Major General Harbord, was sent to Armenia to investigate. He reported that it would require from 25,000 to 200,000 American troops to maintain the mandate; that he, however, believed a force of 50,000 troops would be sufficient for the first two years.

Such an army could probably not have been maintained for less than \$500,000,000 per year.

Adding this to the cost of the permanent military establishment demanded, we have a total annual cost of two and a half billion dollars.

The burden would have crushed our taxpayers and bankrupted the Government.

I opposed all these propositions. I insisted that forced military service in time of peace was Prussian militarism in its worst form.

I insisted that our army should not exceed 100,000 men and a good militia.

What has happened? The forced military service scheme was abandoned.

The army, against my protest, was fixed at 300,000.

In a few months, Congress was obliged to reduce it to 225,000 men.

A little later Congress was compelled to reduce the army to 150,000 men.

As to the navy, for which Daniels demanded 250,000 men, we are today disputing whether there shall be 86,000 or 68,000 men.

Perhaps I was wrong; if so, the country has gone wrong. I am willing to submit the question to the voters of Missouri.

#### LOBBY INVESTIGATION.

The President charged that there existed in Washington a corrupt lobby. The charge was true but the President was without evidence to sustain it. I served on the Committee of Investigation. Without claiming undue credit, I may say that I largely conducted the examination of witnesses, gathered the evidence and marshalled the facts which demonstrated the truthfulness of the charge made by President Wilson. I received a letter of congratulation and thanks.

#### CLAYTON ANTI-TRUST ACT.

The next great measure was the Clayton Anti-Trust Act.

Against an organized effort that was made to emasculate that bill I contended with every power I possessed. The record will show that I succeeded in retaining some of the strong provisions of the bill. It was under one of the provisions, which was inserted at my demand, that the shoe machinery trust was recently convicted.

#### THE RESERVE BANK BILL.

The Banking and Currency Bill had been hurriedly rushed through the House of Representatives.

The banks of the country were alarmed; many of them threatened to leave the national banking system. Students and professors of finance were in consternation. It seemed to me hearings were imperatively necessary. I contended for them. The President insisted that hearings should be denied and the bill put on immediate passage. Over this my first clash with President Wilson came.

The hearings were held, and the bill was amended 563 times. During its progress in the Senate, and before the Democratic caucus, Secretary McAdoo himself began to suggest numerous amendments, some of them of the most vital character. As the result of these labors, the bill, in its perfected form, reached the President, and he declared it to be the best piece of legislation adopted in 50 years.

After the hearings had been completed and the bill had begun to take final form, I gave an interview to the New York World pointing out some of the grave defects of the bill, and suggesting further amendments, but stating that the bill would be perfected and passed. Thereupon, the President, upon his own motion, wrote me a letter in which, among other things, he said:

"I want to thank you very warmly and sincerely for your statement through a New York newspaper. I have felt all along the sincere honesty and independence of judgment you were exercising in this whole matter, and you may be sure that there has never been in my mind any criticism except an occasional difference of judgment. I think that things are now shaping themselves admirably, and I am quite willing to admit that the processes upon which you have insisted have contributed to that result."

In the campaign of 1916, when the President and myself were each running for re-election and our political interests were in a sense mutual, I was authorized to print this letter for the purpose of rebutting a statement which had been circulated to the effect that I had fought the Banking and Currency Bill. Tens of thousands of facsimile copies of the letter were distributed.

Moreover, the Democratic State platform of 1916 expressly commended my work. It declared:

"In the framing of the federal banking bill his (Senator Reed's) work was that of a constructive statesman, and many of the most salutary provisions of that law are due to his foresight and wisdom."

Notwithstanding this record and unprovoked by any act of mine, Mr. Wilson has recently seen fit to thrust himself into the Missouri campaign, by a letter written to the Globe-Democrat, in which, among other things, he states:

"... I clearly remember that Mr. Reed, as a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, interposed every possible objection to the completion and adoption of the bill. His objections were so many, so varied, and so inconsistent with one another, that I recall speaking to him about them in conversation."

That Mr. Wilson is a man of dominating temperament and impatient of opposition is conceded by his most ardent admirers. His feuds with one-time friends are many. But a man should be just even in his feuds and hatreds. It is for him to explain his thorough commendation in 1913 of my position on the banking bill and his wholesale condemnation of that position in 1922. I can stand his failure to explain the manifest injustice he has done me better than he can.

The former President, now a private citizen, is endeavoring to do in Missouri that which he was able to accomplish in other states when he occupied the office of President; that is to say, he is seeking to destroy me because I did not agree with him, just as in the past he sought to destroy other members of Congress who ventured to follow their own judgment as to what was right.

Mr. Wilson is a very sick man. My sentiments toward him are not those of animosity but of profound sympathy.

I believe the people of Missouri in the coming campaign will not permit a former President to tell them how to vote, and that they will not punish a Senator for declining to permit a President to tell him how to vote.

#### FREE TOLLS FOR AMERICAN SHIPS THROUGH PANAMA CANAL.

In 1912 the Panama Canal was approaching completion. The Democratic National Convention declared:

"We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama Canal."

President Wilson was elected upon that platform.